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The annual meeting of the Chicago Peace Society will be held early in 1914, subject to the convenience of Mr. Norman Angell, who will be the guest of honor.

#### New York Department.

The first of a series of four lectures by Ex-President Taft, arranged by the New York Peace Society, was delivered in Aeolian Hall, New York city, on Thursday evening, December 11, before a large and appreciative audience.

The Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences united with the Peace Society as joint patrons, and assisted in the advertising of the lectures. A large number of the most distinguished citizens of New York were on the platform, and the Hon. Oscar S. Straus presided, and spoke for ten minutes before the lecture.

Other lectures to be given by Mr. Taft before the New York Peace Society are scheduled as follows: January 22, 1914, "Shall the Federal Government Protect Aliens in Their Treaty Rights?" February 26, "Has the American Government the Power to Enter Into General Arbitration Treaties?" March 26, "The Federative Trend in International Affairs."

Over \$2,000 has been subscribed toward the expenses of the lectures, to which the members of the New York Peace Society are given free admission.

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#### Preliminary Report of the Preparatory Committee of the United States for the Third Hague Conference.

The report of the preparatory committee of the United States for the Third Hague Conference has been submitted to the Department of State. This committee, appointed by President Taft June 10, 1912, consists of Hon. J. Reuben Clark, ex-Solicitor for the Department of State; Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, and Rear Admiral Wainwright, of the United States Navy. The report begins with the letter of Secretary Knox to President Taft, April 5, 1912, recommending the appointment of such a committee. This letter suggests the importance of such a committee, that the Government of the United States might be informed precisely of its relations to the Hague Conference. The committee was appointed with the understanding that it represent the United States upon the international preparatory committee contemplated by the Second Hague Conference, and that the members should be technical delegates to the Third Hague Conference. This letter also sets forth that since, in the practical application of the principles and rules of international law, all responsibility falls upon the Department of State, the War Department, and the Navy Department, therefore the committee might well be made up of a representative of each department. The committee, which is to serve continuously until the close of the Third Hague Conference, was set the task of preparing a general program for the participation of the United States in a Third Hague Conference. While, as suggested by the title, the report submitted is but preliminary to the formal report hereafter to be submitted, the general

question of the matters which should be presented to the coming conference is presented with care.

The introductory résumé treats of the accomplishment of the various proposals and action thereon. Under the heading, "A Preliminary Reconnaissance of Matters That May Come Before the Third Hague Conference," the committee treats of the character of the conference itself and of the relative situation of Anglo-American interests before the conference. The difficulties involved in the question of representation is shown still to be serious.

The committee conceives that there are only two measures looking directly to the establishment of world peace—the limitation or reduction of armaments and military budgets and the establishment of an international police. Properly giving to Russia the credit for launching a program for the limitation of armaments, the committee sees but three ways for bringing this limitation to pass: First, by limiting armaments or budgets by fixing a standard which is beyond the present efficiency; second, by fixing the standard of armaments or budgets at the present efficiency; third, by fixing the standard of armaments or budgets below the present efficiency. The committee firmly believes that the whole subject should be taken up at the next conference, but feels that little need be expected because of the recent war experience in the Balkans and of the marked increase in armaments and budgets by most of the leading nations of the world. The establishment of an international police can mean nothing except the establishment of peace by force. Such an organization would aim at the enforcement of arbitral awards, the enforcement of the general principles of international law, the prevention of war, the prevention of civil wars, or the enforcement of obligatory arbitration. The committee feels that any attempt to establish an international police would be met with insuperable difficulties, and that the project is impracticable. It takes the same attitude toward the plan of the "economic boycott."

Under the heading, "Measures Indirectly Relating to the Abolition of War," the committee presents a study of "good offices and mediation," of "international commissions of inquiry," and of "arbitration." While it is difficult to distinguish between "measures looking directly to the establishment of world peace" and "measures indirectly relating to the abolition of war," the report does not lead us to quibble over such details. Where there is so much that is good, we cannot bring ourselves even to ask why there is no distinction made between "good offices," "mediation," and "friendly composition." The committee evidently believes in all of these, and that they should be brought to the attention of the next conference. "International commissions of inquiry" are recognized as hopeful and practical. The committee is not over-impressed by the advance made in the plan proposed by the Wilson administration.

But when it comes to "arbitration," the committee is evidently a unit in agreeing that there is something important yet to be done. It recommends specifically the importance of amending the Pacific Settlement Convention of the previous conferences. It suggests changes in Article 45 of that convention, that there may be a greater assurance of an impartial umpire. Rules governing pleadings, cases, counter

cases, and replies should be clarified and strengthened. The position of the plaintiff before the court, the order of oral arguments, the questioning by the tribunals, and other matters need careful study. The committee is inclined to agree that there is now no permanent court of arbitral justice—that there is only a permanent panel of judges. Granting that England, Germany, France, and the United States may have secretly agreed to constitute such a court, in accordance with the plan of Article 15 of the convention organizing the international prize court, as soon as the international prize court is set up and enough States have adhered to provide eighteen judges, yet the committee has little hope that such a court can be effectively organized until certain rules and questions have been studied and settled. For example, there is here also the question of representation, the larger powers insisting upon an actual majority of the judges, the smaller powers upon equality. Again, the question of expense is a serious question because the smaller cases, which constitute the majority, often involve amounts in controversy less than \$50,000. To try a case before a court of The Hague would involve all of this, and probably more. Then, too, there remains the suspicion, amounting almost to a fear, that a case tried so far from the local conditions cannot possibly receive a fair hearing.

Because of these difficulties, the committee suggests a series of courts. For example, each country might well appoint a judge who would serve as an adviser of the foreign office on the legal merits of international cases—indeed, who might hear cases of a minor nature, the principals involved understanding, of course, that they have the right of appeal. In addition, there might be a series of judicial circuits from fifteen to eighteen in number, a judge presiding over a court in each circuit, the court to sit in the defendant's country. These circuit courts would localize the arbitration, reduce the cost, and minimize the fear that the hearing would not be impartial. It is suggested that the circuit court might be final in certain classes of cases. Above this it is suggested that there might well be a "Hague Court" made up of circuit judges of the different circuits with appellate jurisdiction and original jurisdiction also in certain larger cases. Over this there might be a fourth court—a court of appeals or a "Court of the Nations," where every nation might be represented by a judge if the smaller powers should insist.

The committee believes that the permanent court of arbitration is important, that it is possible of attainment, that it should be thoroughly studied and evolved. The committee believes, further, in the principle of compulsory arbitration, and that the next convention might well pave the way for the practical adoption of such a principle.

There are ten pages devoted to the system of organization and procedure of the conference itself, and several pages devoted to the use of force in the recovery of contract debts. The rest of the report is devoted to the measures looking to the limitation of injuries and losses suffered by reason of war.

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It is more glorious to slay war with the word than men with the sword.  
—Saint Augustine.

## The Meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.

The semi-annual meeting of the board of directors of the American Peace Society was held at the Hotel Raleigh, Washington, D. C., Friday, December 5. Senator Theodore E. Burton, president of the society, presided at the morning session, and Dr. William I. Hull at the afternoon session. The report of the executive committee, the finances of the society, and other details engaged the attention of the morning session. The committee appointed by the chairman of the executive committee to study the function of the board of directors of the American Peace Society as a National Peace Council submitted its report, which was unanimously adopted. The report reads:

"After mature deliberation, the committee feels that the board of directors of the American Peace Society is, by virtue of its organization, essentially a National Peace Council; that as such it should be developed in scope and efficiency as time and circumstances permit. The committee recommends that all suggestions looking toward such a development be sent to the executive committee of the American Peace Society at the earliest possible time."

It was the unanimous opinion of the directors, expressed at the afternoon session, that there should be an appropriate celebration in 1915 of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the peace movement. It was voted that a committee be appointed by the executive committee from the board of directors to take into consideration the general plan for such a celebration.

Dr. J. W. Van Kirk, of Youngstown, Ohio, presented a peace flag to the society, which was accepted with a vote of thanks.

The following resolutions were adopted:

### *A Common Program of Work.*

*Resolved*, That the following program of work be adopted by the board of directors of the American Peace Society, and that it be recommended to the constituent branches and auxiliaries of the National Society for their adoption in the immediate future:

1. That immediate steps should be taken by our Government to initiate international action for the calling of the Third Hague Conference and the creation of an international committee to prepare the program of the conference.

2. That the United States should offer to co-operate in the plan proposed by the First Lord of the British Admiralty in his proposal for an International Naval Holiday, which is to call a halt of a year in the construction of new battle ships, which proposition has been endorsed and broadened by the recent recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy.

3. That the United States should repeal the clause in the Panama Canal act exempting American coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls, or refer the dispute to arbitration.

4. That there should be a prompt renewal in their original, or in an improved form, of our arbitration treaties with Great Britain and all other nations in cases in which such treaties have expired.

### *Other Resolutions.*

1. The directors of the American Peace Society, at their meeting in Washington, D. C., December 5, 1913, desire to express their deep gratitude to the President of the United States for his strong declaration at the forefront of his recent message to Congress in behalf of international peace and arbitration, and especially do we endorse his earnest request for the prompt ratification of the treaties of arbitration now awaiting renewal by the Senate.

2. We also express our profound satisfaction in the proposal of the Secretary of the Navy, broadening the recent